li:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

782 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited; and when sacred lineage hearths (*wa ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

437 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are [426] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

462 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

●771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*abang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

776 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from 787 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some [424] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

are created: in the burial services, in two death feasts called Hevelaberka and Hevelakang, and in an indefinite number of all-night gong-beating memorials (*sinewai*). These obligations are then repaid over a period of years in feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Ato, each of which, and especially the last, is subdivided into a number of parts. The last climactic feast involves the slaying of either a carabao or a sheep, depending on which is traditionally used in the lineage. For those who die violent deaths, however, special observances including the spirit-bird (*kari rua*) ceremony are used instead. For those killed in head-hunting expeditions there were observances similar to those for the victims of accidents or certain dreaded diseases.

Remarks on religion in this volume, either here or later, do not exhaust the range of spirits recognized or the variety of observances connected with them. An indication of the diversity, as well as the amorphism, of spirit relationships is that in twenty-one households of Dikimpe and its associated hamlets there were at least fifty-six known spirits, altars, carvings, and the like. Obviously details must await separate publication, since it is not the purpose of this account to give a thorough ethnographic description, but only to include such material as is pertinent to the general problem described in Chapter 1.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rilpada. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*nala kang;* literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1929 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are far

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

than hardheaded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut trees are banded with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo collars which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the owner will have a chance to discover him.

Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintentional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a lacework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelanger does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so casually treated bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral strictures. That curses are so impersonal causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kari, loku*), wealth-bringing spirits (*nera*), and familiar spirits (*timang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every individual has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

or undertaking reminds them that an image should be carved and fed. It was said previously in connection with skills that the carvings of such spirits are usually crudely done, and after the sacrifices they are ignored and often allowed to rot away.

CONCLUSIONS

The attitude toward carvings might lead some people to the generalization that the Atimelangers' attitude is spiritual rather than materialistic, that they worship the essence and not the substance. When we look at all the evidence presented to date, a preferable interpretation might be that the Atimelangers are as exploitative in their relationship to the supernatural as they are to humans and that only a threat of danger makes them placatory.

A linguistic hint concerning their attitude toward supernatural beings may be contained in the generic term for them, good-bad (*kang-berka*), which suggests a parallel to the positive-negative aspects of human relationships. If we consider all supernaturalism as projections of the current attitudes of a group of people plus varying amounts of wishful thinking, we have in the foregoing description of religion an epitome of the modal personality of Atimelang. It is as though the group itself gave us in its religious beliefs and practices at least a clue to those generalizations about personality for which we are searching. Again, this generalization must not be interpreted as characterizing all Atimelangers. Malelaka's autobiography and dreams, and to a lesser extent Rilpada's, indicate that there are individuals who use the concepts of the supernatural for purposes of projecting all their desires for nurturing and solicitous relationships. They call their familiar spirits "friends" and consider them the sources of advice, gifts, and power. In Atimelang I suspect that these are the people who more than any others serve to keep alive religious activities and speculations.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

A second factor lies in vesting the co- 157x 182 562
hesion of the society in the woman. This latter is the strongest bulwark of this society against complete disintegration. The woman is not only an economic anchorage, but the financial difficulties involved in breaking up a marriage render the incidence of divorce only a fraction of what it would otherwise be. .

A third force that makes for cohesion is religion. Though it is compulsory, operating only under threats, and constituted so that the individual can expect only a relief from an existing evil, its chief influence is to foster better parental care. For in the autobiographies the commonest appeal to the supernatural is made on the occasion of a sick child or of wanton acts of aggression. 192 855 771